

Wage-movement and wage-struggles.

For the years 1908 and 1909 the wage-movement has been as follows:

Year	Without stoppage of work		With stoppage of work		Sum of		Paid subsidies in all kr.
	Motions	Workers	Motions	Workers	Motions	Workers	
1908 . . .	112	7958	61	9643	173	17601	528,560.37
1909 . . .	88	6209	76	3640	164	9849	219,713.60

In the three years from 1907—1909 several great struggles with the employers have been fought. Especially the year 1907 may be mentioned as a year of war. In 1909 it was especially the enormous war in our neighbouring country Sweden, which claimed the attention also of the Norwegian workers. In subsidies to the general strike in Sweden 535,865.65 kronas were sent from Norway.

The present report is but a short extract of the activity of the Norwegian trade-unions in the years 1907—1909. In the international reports of the trade-unions, which are published every year by the international secretary in Berlin, more specified reports of the trade-union-movement of Norway may be found.

Kristiania, May 1910.

On behalf of
„Arbeidernes faglige landsorganisation
i Norge“

Ole O. Lian,
president.

Report

to

the Congress in Copenhagen 1910

from

The Swedish Socialdemocratic Labour Party.

In our report to the Stuttgart Congress in 1907 we explained the political movements in Sweden that year and the Suffrage Bill the Government and the Conservative party succeeded to force through, against the majority in the »second chamber».

The Swedish workingclass' fight against the old Suffrage system gave them already in 1902 the recognition as a principle of Universal suffrage for the »second chamber», but in connection with certain »guarantees». The fight against those guarantees occupied the following years. The Conservative and Liberal parties put the voters age to 24, with paid taxes for three years and no owings to the Poor Commission. Against these reductions in the rights for the workingclass, the Socialdemocratic Party in the Parliament fought alone, and in 1906 also connected Women's enfranchisement to their motion. Concerning the electoral system the Conservative party claimed proportional elections only to the »second chamber», whereas the first should be undisturbed, totally in the power of the Capitalists. The Liberal party claimed »constituencies for one member» to the second chamber and to the first chamber the old conditions.

The Socialdemocrats claimed from 1906 a *complete revision of the Constitution* introducing pure democratic principles.

The apprehension that this program soon should receive the same common support as before 1902 the claim of Universal suffrage for the elections to the »second chamber» forced the more clear sighted of the Conservative party to hasten a settlement. The Premier Lindman offered more than the Liberal leader Staaff, Premier overthrowd in 1906. Lindman offered what he named »Universal suffrage» to the second chamber with before mentioned reductions, proportional elections to both chambers, and reformation of the suffrage for the Local Boards which had been the most scandalous government of the rich, down to a maximum of votes for one elector of 40, which in practise means that the workingclass would possess in average 5—10 votes and the rich something like 25 à 30. This reform would mainly change the representation in the first chamber and by side of the now dominant Conservatives there give room for Liberals and Socialdemocrats.

The Liberal party would by going nearer our proposals for a complete revision of the Constitution have gained a more popular position against this conservative scheme, that beside its considerable progress includes so many dangerous antidemocratic points. But their leading men stayed on a sterile antiproportionalism and refused stubbornly to let the reform go further than to Suffrage extension for the second chamber. The result was the Liberals' broken power in the main moment. The Socialdemocrats voted united against the Lindman reform as not complete, but on the conservative side of the Liberals Lindman received the votes he needed after he had given further admissions, a wider eligibility and honorarium to the members of the new first chamber. In the first chamber the Conservative party rose a strong opposition, but must submit to their Government.

So the question of Universal suffrage, that in about ten years had been the centre of Swedish policy, was solved for the present, in the spring of 1907, not by its bearers but

by the Conservative Party that always had been adverse to it. The settlement therefore is of that character, that a struggle for a new clear democratic Suffrage Bill soon must begin.

Also in a great economic question: the Governments attitude to the great mining companies in the far North, succeeded Mr Lindman 1907. Mr Staaff had been unsuccessful the year before. Mr Lindmans treaty with the Grängesberg Company resulted in a settlement, which was approved by the Parliament, and through this settlement the Swedish State received a half part of the Kiruna and Gellivara mines, nevertheless the States shares during the nearest coming 30 years should remain more modest while the Companys would get a change to improve their export and in the same time double up the yearly incomes, besides that the conditions for a coming redeeming of the Companys half part would be specially convenient for the capitalistic stockholders. Against that point the Socialdemocrats protested, claiming a maximum limit for the redeeming. But both the Liberal and the Conservative Party refused to follow the Labour party to secure the Nation's wealth to the Nation; Mr Staaff said our proposal against the capitalists to be »an extortion».

In spite of that defect the States ownership in this great exploitation of the Nation's wealth is a significant beginning in the right direction and a witness of strength in the Socialistic critic of the Capitalism.

The Socialdemocratic Party in the Parliament had grown through new elections in Stockholm and Gothenburg from fifteen members in 1907, to seventeen. In their activity is not to be forgotten in this International report their interpellation concerning the Tcherniack affair, that threw a sharp light over the intimate connection of the chief of our detective police Mr Stendahl — afterwards elected Senator by the Conservative party! — with his Russian colleagues. We succeeded however at last to prevent the extradition of Tcherniack, but he died on his way to Antwerp, probably poisoned by gases from silicious iron. In the summer 1907 the Swedish workers protested against the expulsion of the Russian congress, that had been

ordered out of Copenhagen, and which at last got settled in London. The hands of the Russian police have appeared later in Sweden. Our Party in the Parliament protested 1909 — alone — against the planned visit of the Tsar. This visit was all the same a reality in the summer, greeted with protestmeetings from the working-class all over the country. As a worthy preparation to the visit, several Russians were arrested in Stockholm, accused by a Russian *agent provocateur* Ornet. Then, when during the unwelcome visit a Swedish anarchist on the open street in Stockholm shot a Swedish general, the police took the opportunity of the excitement to expel the arrested from the country without judgement or trial. Ornet was by his own request returned — to Russia! For the sake of these events proposals have been made in the Parliament for better protection of foreigners safety in Sweden.

In the session of 1908 our Party in the Parliament, with assistance of most all the liberals, succeeded to reject a proposal of restraining the right in our press to point out the »blacklegs» in trade conflicts. This proposal called »Lex Hildebrand» failed with 107 votes to 103. Less success received our positive action. Our claims to deal with the question of assurance of the unemployed, with the suspension of the custom of corn, regarding to the expensive times, with the demolition of the blackleg-protecting-law (Åkarps-lagen), our claims of investigation of the legal eight hours day, of reductions of the new Kings civil list and so on, were all rejected, but gained considerable value as agitation.

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The Party hold its 7th Congress 28th of May—5th of June 1908 in Stockholm with 320 delegates representing 130 »arbetarekommuner» (Local organizations of the party). The Congress approved after stormy discussions with 227 votes against 69 the demand of the Council of the party to exclude from the party the editors of the anarcho-syndicalistic newspapers, Mrrs H. Bergegren and

Schröder. The Congress settled herewith as a principle that the party will remain on the ground of its tried policy, and will fight against the upper class parties as well as against the spoiling anarchists for increasing influence in the parliamentary way, and, by increasing power in the State and in the Local Boards, take care of the working people's interests in every respect, preparing the socialistic order, which is the historical mission of the working class to realize.

For the coming Elections the Congress gave a parole to dismiss the reactionary attack that united under the watchword, »Front against Socialism», in the first place by strengthening of our own Party in the Parliament, wherever there was any possibility without giving victory to the enemy. (In Sweden the relative majority decides the elections). But where we had no chance of getting any of our own, we were forced to give our votes to that liberal candidate, who was against class laws and growing military burdens.

In regard to the forms of organization the Congress refused a proposal not to let any trade-union join the party (separating question), but in return has every member of the union, by giving a notice, right to disengage from the party, with no payments to the party.

In request to the partys actual political program, the paragraph against the *militarism* was sharpened by cutting out every word about a »popular defence system». The paragraph now runs:

»Fight against the militarism. Successive reduction of military burdens, forward to disarmament.

Obligatory arbitrage, Scandinavian neutrality, powerful international action of the workingmens organizations against the war.»

Concerning the question of alcoholism the program was sharpened to the following conclusions: Fight against the alcoholism by teaching in all public schools about the effect and nature of alcohol on the individual and the community, with a legislation, which by the local veto and other effective means leads to the settlement of the alcohol-question.

Beside this, the Congress paid attention and interest to the questions of education of the people — as an example it granted 5,000 crowns (swedish) yearly to Brunnsviks popular high-school and the same amount to various study-courses, — and resolved to publish a scientific monthly socialist review.

This review »Tiden» started in 1908. Editor is Hj. Branting, chairman of the party, elected by the Congress, and formerly editor of Social-Demokraten.

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At the time of the Congress, great conflicts had started in the trades. In Stockholm an extensive conflict in the building-trade proceeded, in Skåne at the sugar-refineries, but the most dangerous was the great conflict in the docks. The shipping companies tried everywhere to furnish themselves with blacklegs, and ships, loaded by them, dispersed the conflict to all ports. The shipping companies went so far that they imported hundreds of English blacklegs, mob from the sea ports, that in protection of the police should support the swedish shipowners against the swedish labourers.

This way of conducting the war must certainly cause a violent rage, and a few attempts to tumults occurred; at last some madcaps belonging to »the Young socialists», tried to blow up with dynamite the »Amalthea» in Malmö port, where blacklegs were lodged; fortunately only one person was killed at the explosion. But all the newspapers over the whole country gave up a cry, and the conservatives made the whole Labour Party responsible for the act, forgetting that the »patriotic shipowners» had the heaviest responsibility. The perpetrators were sentenced to death, but at the final moment in the spring of 1909 when the worst excitement had passed, the Socialdemocratic Party in connection with several other members of the Parliament sent in a petition to the King to save them from death. The King changed the sentence to imprisonment for life.

Thus the conflict was utterly sharpened and the Employer organizations found a good chance to threat with »shut-down» all over. It is still undecided what reasons the leaders of the Conservative party had for not having the great fight started then. Perhaps they calculated that Liberals and Socialdemocrats would fight against each other at the elections, to the Conservatives advantage, and perhaps it was because the new king expected visits of foreign monarchs, when it would not be proper to show a social war in the country — any how, the Government tried in earnest to make peace. A great board of arbitrators was arranged, with the swedish ambassador in Copenhagen, Günther, as chairman, and after great difficulties peace was concluded in the House of Parliament of Stockholm the 19th of July 1908. The settlement was in regard to the economical situation favourable for the labourers, and first of all it brought them with unbroken strength out of the hardest turning point of the depression.

This was the last time the Lindman Government in a social campaign appeared as a government of the people, and not only of the employers. Its proclamation of going to be a »government above the parties» had already been reduced to an empty phrase, specially by the prosecutions, named »System Petersson» — refering to the minister of Justice — proceeded against the bearers of the antimilitaristic agitation, and by the ukase of the minister of the Interior in regard to the carrying of demonstration flags on the first of May, ordering strictly noting of »unlawful» inscriptions. He even brought a case against the police department in Stockholm because they not interfered brutally enough on the 1st of May, against such a flag.

The sharpened class-struggle gave its mark to the beginning Election campaign for the second chamber. The Government proclaimed »Front against Socialism», as a war cry for the bourgeois parties, and the Conservatives frightened with the »socialistic deeds of violence». But in totality the Liberals made a pretty good stand against the intimidations and the fair words of the conservative party. The Socialdemocrats managed a strong agitation

all over the country, which for the first time put their party in equal political standing with the old parties.

The elections in September showed a clear radical displacement. The Conservatives lost about 20 places and went down to about 85 members in the new second chamber. The Liberals gained some seats and rose to about 105, which includes some half-conservative members. But most brilliant were the victories of the Socialdemocrats: we kept *all* our 17 seats and gained 16 new seats, consequently together 33 seats. (The second chamber counts all together 230 members.) And still the voting system had forced many small groups among the socialistic electors to vote for the liberal-radical candidates to shut out conservatives with their class-laws and militarism.

A combination of the votes given for Socialist candidates at the last elections shows:

1902 in 12 voting districts...	8,751 votes
1905 in 27 » » ...	26,083 »
1908 in 36 » » ...	54,004 »

With an approximate calculation, the sum of Socialist votes at the two latest elections has in reality been following:

1905.....	about 40,000
1908.....	towards 75,000

All together the votes casted in year 1908 were a little more than 300,000; it appears by this that the Socialist votes amount to about 24 per cent of all casted. A brilliant advancement of a party that 1897—1902 had only one representative in the second chamber.

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The victory of the radical groups at the elections would in any other parliamentary country have caused the fall of the conservative Cabinet. So not in Sweden, where the first chamber with its power over the budget — its votes are summed up with those of the second chamber, when they both are fixed on different views concerning incomes and taxes — and through its whole position as a political expression for the most powerful upper-class-gang has such a unique influence. The Conservatives and the King have raised the challenging theory that not the majority of the people, by the elections to the second chamber, but the majority of the whole Parliament settles the policy of the Cabinet. On that ground the Lindman Cabinet was formed in 1906, and though the elections in 1908 certainly showed a clear opposition between the Government and the second chamber, the Conservatives still remained in majority in the Parliament as a whole, keeping up the Cabinet at the polls of Budget questions, when the votes of the two chambers are summed up. This position will first be changed when by the effects of the Lindman Suffrage Bill the first chamber ceases to be only a conservative stronghold, and by that the centre of gravity is returned to the second chamber.

Still the Liberals, by the impressions of the elections, started to discuss the chances for a Liberal cabinet, where one or two Socialists should take their seats as »a hostage». But our party firmly rejected such proposals. There was no evidence of such extraordinary conditions, as could move us to join a bourgeois cabinet. But we explained us willing to support in the Parliament an eventual Liberal ministry as long as it would follow a clear radical direction, but not longer.

The persecutions against the »antimilitarists» now improved to cruelty. A »Yong-Socialist» who published a proclamation by Tolstoy, which earlier had been published in Clemenceau's »Aurore», was sentenced to one year's hard labour and one year's loss of civil rights, and the spreaders were punished in proportion. Also by verdicts for »blasphemy» the minister of Justice operated. A Professor at the Lund University, Wicksell, who in a drastic way attacked

the dogma of the supra-natural birth of Jesus was sentenced to two months imprisonment.

At the session of Parliament in 1909 our first question therefore was squaring up the accounts of the »System Petersson», and soon after started a debate about Socialism, in which Mr Lindman surely made understand, that he wanted to treat us as a »second class of citizens».

Inconsequently, he had some time before choosened our party comrade Thorsson as a member in the »Civil-Commission», which has to control the military administration, as well as he had choosened some Socialists in different committees; Lindqvist and Persson for a new Trade-Dispute Bill, Branting for the »old age pensions», and others.

The Party in the Parliament, that by joining of the mayor of Stockholm, Mr Lindhagen — before wellknown all over the country as the most powerful champion for the poor farmers in the North, driven away from their farms by the saw mill companies, — had grown to 34 members, interfered by several proposals against the revolting persecutions against the liberty of thought, not entirely without success in the second chamber, but evidently the first chamber found the existent reactionary legislation excellent.

We alone refused the definitive adoption of the Lindman Suffrage Bill as well as the increasing punishment for »exhortations to crime» — an ordinance, by which, as an example, the exhortation to the railwaymen to join the General Strike was imposed with *hard labour!* Besides the Liberals we claimed the immediate application of the new Suffrage Bill — the Conservatives wish rather retard, with a view to use as long as possible their own reactionary majority in the Parliament! We maintained the right of the Parliament against some attempts of the Government forbidding their civil service to give any direct informations to members of the Parliament. In both cases the second chamber gave a direct vote of want of confidence — a system not yet fixed in our parliamentary habitudes — and that caused a partial crisis, by which three of the less conservative members of the Cabinet

retired, among them »the first farmer in the Kings council», Mr Peterson at Påboda. But Mr Lindman still remained, completing his Cabinet with conservatives, leaving to the majority of the Parliament to vote, against the majority of the second chamber, considerable military grants to be covered by indirect taxes.

Complete independence, but always fighting side by side with the Liberals against the Conservatives on every point, where a cooperation was natural — that was the position of the Social-democratic Party at the finish of that session. But then the great fight on the labour market flashed up, which for a long time made the political-parliamentary contrasts among the bourgeois classes to delay, learning by strong hands the workingmen that at a deciding moment, they only can trust in themselves and in their own party.

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The quarrelsome party in the Employer organization submitted only murmuring to the treaty of peace in July 1908. They insisted on making use of the depressed market to give a death-blow to the trade-unions. Among the three largest Employer organizations which essentially share the industrial fields of Sweden — the Works Association (162 members, with 25,000 workers), The Central Employers Union, generally comprehending the building-trades (about 2,000 members with 40—45,000 workers) and the Swedish Employers Association (the main trades, except the mechanical shops, 1,423 members, with about 163,000 workers and 17 millions of crowns in war funds in bonds of the members to the association) — the last one especially threatened frequently with lock-out for the sake of the slightest occasions. The Council of the Federation of Labour succeeded anyhow in settlement of the different conflicts in autumn 1908, also two other conflicts were satisfactory settled by the Labour leaders in the spring of 1909.

Then in July 1909 the Swedish Employer Association furnished a new threatening — its leading man being now the former secretary of Police in Stockholm, Mr Hj. von Sydow — of general lock-out in case the small conflicts were not settled according to the claims of the employers. It was understood in their communication that the workers, in spite of the hard time, claimed a rise of their salaries, which the Companies were not able to pay. The truth is, that only 632 workers struggled for rate of salary, and those wished status quo and in one manufactory an increasement to 5 pr. cent lower than the same industry usually pays. On the contrary the employers had started a lock-out against 5,729 workers in purpose *to reduce the salaries*. It seems then like an insolent hypocrisy of the employers to threat with a general lock-out because the workers disturbed the peace of labour.

The threat of lock-out concerned at first about 80,000 workers, but afterwards also the remaining 83,000 under the power of the Swedish Employers Association, and further more about 100,000 workers with chances to be involved by sympathy lock-outs. The employers had thus forced their arrogant tactic of lock-out to its limit. The trade-unions would by and by be smashed to pieces by the successively starting general lock-out.

The workers for their part now had learned the tactics of lock-out. Since a couple of years ago all transactions were settled in the shade of a lock-out, and it was clear that the employers wished an open fight. If the workers gave themselves up and admitted a lot of changes to the worse, the same situation would soon be present. The general threat of lock-out must be stopped, if the workers should not lose all influence on their own labour conditions. The economical conditions were still bad, but the worst crisis was past. To capitulate without fight would mean the collapse of the trade-unions. But this extreme campaign of selfdefence could not, in regard to its extension, be conducted as usual with aid from non-strikers. The only rescue was a *General Strike as an answer to the General Lock-out*, which immediately involved in the fight all of them who by the employers calculations

would be turned out by and by, and which created a situation, where other parts of the community must enter for a decent settlement.

According to this view of the situation the Trade Union representatives resolved to serve the members an appeal to General Strike, in case the lock-out should be enlarged, as it was threatened with, on the 26th of July to the Textile- and Saw-mill industries, and on the 2nd of August to the Iron-industry, »to enforce by that a reasonable settlement and a rapid end of the great war». In the proclamation is said that the recklessness of the employers, always threatening with lock-out, can not be tolerated any longer, and their brutality is not to be stopped in any other way. The care of the sick, charge of animals, streetcleanings, water- and lighting works departements in the cities, must be exempted from the General Strike. Calm selfpossessing and no riots; it concerns the existence of the Trade-Unions in Sweden.

All over the country the workers accepted with enthusiasm the appeal for General Strike, and when the employers on the 2nd of August had finished their last great throwing-out and 80,000 labourers were lockouted, the *General Strike* started all over on the 4th of August. In general all industries were stopped, and partly the local means of transportation, the unorganized followed in an unexpected extent, and the great Exodus of the workers from the Swedish industries took place in an excellent spirit of order. Railways, mail, telegraph and telephones were in function, and all commanded exceptions respected, but the combined lock-out-strike included the first day about 300,000 workers, among them 90,000 unorganized and 10,000 »yellows».

The authorities had arranged great and partly provocative military disposals, but the workers remained calm. In objection *the press boiled over with rage*. The shut-down en masse passed unnoted, the journals only exciting against the workers, who through the General Strike had »attacked the Community». That some kind of workers in municipal service and others, by stipulations obliged not to

strike, under these extraordinary conditions joined their own class, became the starting-point for the most raging attacks, and gave an excuse to the liberal papers for associating »in name of the insulted moral» with their colleagues among the conservatives, against the workers. Yet more seriously became the cry of »broken stipulations» when the Typographers, which not belonged to the Federation of Labour, joined the strike on the 9th of August, to hurry a settlement.

The Government, that in the first days seemed to keep a pretty neutral standing, now commenced to show more uncovered its partiality against the workers. The authorities tried everything to restore the interrupted circulation in the streets, specially in Stockholm, and succeeded gradually by help from »the bourgeois safe-guard» — voluntary blacklegs from the high- and middle class, mixed with all sorts of mob, conducting tramways and cabs — and the most newspapers could soon be published again, composed by clerks, journalists and others, naturally still more angry against the workers attempts to »stop the liberty of the press». The quality of the thruths that by those means could be restored, is best illustrated with the fact, that the *whole* press, already in the second week of the General Strike then at its highest standard, every day published: »the General Strike in dissolution»! The Swedish Employers Association had from their members requested informations »apt for publishing», and found in the newspapers of all colours a willing removal.

»The Community» was thus united against the fighting workers, and authorities, police and tribunals have done their best to demonstrate themselves as dutiful servants to the »Class-Community». Prosecutions in regard to the »Åkarps-law» rained, workers were arrested and severely sentenced for the slightest delicts, meetings and lectures forbidden, public roads and working-places declared »protected by the law». But still the workers refused to listen to the provocations, and to this lucky result the »prohibition of alcohol», requested by the workers themselves, has greatly interfered. They did not for a moment lose

their patience when the circulation by and by was restored. Against the united power of their enemies they could trust in their discipline, their perseverance and their wonderful readiness to make sacrifices.

The gigantic battle proceeded in this way unchanged, day by day, week after week. The leaders of the Federation of Labour were gathered together under the chairmanship of Herman Lindqvist, the local guidance was in hands of in all 549 strike-committees. A good tie of union between the leaders and the masses was »Svaret» (»The Answer»), the official newspaper of the General Strike, edited by Gerhard Magnusson, and published the 10th of Aug.—6th of Sept. While the rest of the labour press was closed, »The Answer» during this month alone represented the opinion of the struggling people.

Although the bourgeois papers every day announced the breaking up of the strike, the official census concerning the striking men on the 18th of August showed *the same* number of strikers as in the first week; in official estimates now the number of partakers about the 10th of August is calculated to 290,000, and on the 20th to about 275,000.

The battle by this means being of longer duration it could not, as before planned, be continued without all pecuniary assistance. Early measures had been taken appealing to the workers international solidarity to help the victims of the battle, when that would proof necessary; now this help was wanted already for the proceeding of the fight. But it was given from the comrades in some countries with a brilliant solidarity, that for ever will remain imprinted on the swedish workers memory. Our nearest comrades in Norway and Denmark showed magnificent generosity, even from Finland came aids to the best of its ability. But beside the Scandinavian countries, the workers of Germany appeared with a strong grasp, which made it decisively possible to continue the fight. Also from other countries supports were received, especially the Scandinavians in U. S. A. are not to be forgotten. But the differences in the result, that followed the proclamation of the International Bureau of the Federations of Labour, still

shows that a great deal of work for the international solidarity is to be done — the reason why the Swedish representatives bring the question forward at the Congress at Copenhagen. This gathering in and out of Sweden made it possible for the commissions during the strike to distribute more than 1 1/2 mill. (swedish) crowns — a great deal of this in the form of assignments on victuals from the workers cooperative undertakings. All together the foreign workers have contributed with more than 3,000,000 crowns to the proceeding of the fight; the swedish workers have equally, mostly by their federations, raised more than 3,000,000 crowns.

The endurance of the workingclass, widely exceeding the bourgeois expectations, resulted at last in increasing voices for a *settlement* to stop this immense class-fight as being more and more destroying for the economical situation of the whole Country. Already on the 19th of Aug. the official »man of reconciliation» submitted the Government to interfere like in 1908, but the minister of Interior Count Hamilton, formerly a »radical», remained deaf to all entreaties, and even kept secret that such proposition had been done! The same fate came to other propositions, among them a treaty of peace from several prominent women, and soon after the Liberal leading men received a rebuff by Count Hamilton, who meant that the »vital functions of Community» had been attacked by the workers, and that the reason why the Government »could not make nor forward any concessions»! The Government took their part as a »government of lockout»; Mr. v. Sydow trusted in the break-down of the workers army by starvation, that being the reason why no treaty of peace was allowed.

To cross their projects, the fight must be changed, inasmuch as the workers after a monthly battling and exhausted means of supports, as an obvious fact, were at the limit of their possibilities. This occurred by a settlement on the 3d of Sept. with all Employer Associations *except* The Swedish Employer Association. This settlement named the »rational splitting» brought about 100,000 workers immediately to work and thus putting aside the hinderances for settlement,

which the Government itself had heaped up. The Government found yet more pretextes for a postponement, while the groups of workers, which had joined the strike against made stipulations, refused in opposition of the settlement to give up themselves to the choice of their employers. But when nor this delay, neither the »yellow organization's» going back to work, warmly approved by the Government, succeeded to break the organizations of the workers, the Government on the 12th of Sept. was forced to ask their own »man of conciliation» to bring together representatives for the Federation of Labour and the Swedish Employers Association for an agreement. These transactions stranded on the 27th of Sept. in the first place by the employers claim of some »principles», that would settle their supremacy concerning the labour conditions. The battle continued, but with reduced extension, and was kept up in the end of October foremost at the iron works. The brutality of the employers was increasing as time went on, and when they not only in the most regardless manners offended the right of combination guaranted by themselves, by claiming a stepout from the Federation of Labour in places where the lock-out in formality still continued, but also let throw out in chilly, snowy weather old medaled workers, in the age of 60—70 years, having worked the whole of their life at the forges, and their families, even the bourgeois opinion was stirred up by such a manner of making war. Another trial of peace however stranded on the 13th of Nov. but on the same day the Swedish Employers Association was bound to announce the *revocation of the lock-out* at the ironworks!

This was a sure confession that the Employers not were able to fulfil their fight. According to this it is of no importance that no close in formality of the great battle has been signed, but deceitful appearances of lock-outs this very day are maintained at different workplaces. Workers at these places, who were forced to sign stipulations to separate from the Federation of Labour, have afterwards simply announced their annulment of the same, without any signs of protest or any new lock-out.

Thus ended this gigantic battle, without comparison the largest the Swedish workingclass ever carried out, in its kind and size compared with the number of inhabitants of the country unique in the modern history of the workingclass. In fact no part could claim the honour of victory. The workers have carried it as an enforced *war of defence*. We know that it has been the cause of heavy sacrifices, reducing the number of members in the organizations and of their material resources.

But its most prominent purpose is apparently reached: to make the weapon of lock-out pointless and break the disposition of the employers incessantly to threaten with it. The employers have pretty sure learned to understand that this weapon not at all is so effective, as some of them imagined, and that a workers organization, which under both economical and political depression, in fact having the whole rest of community against themselves, in spite of all is able to go unbroken and partly even victorious out of such a struggle, not can be refused considerable influence on the labour conditions.

No wonder then, that the enemies of trade unions so very soon found »the Community's victory over the General Strike» as they boasted at the beginning, particularly insufficient, and prepared in the *political* way to impose chains on the workingclass, which the Employer Association in their struggle against the Trade Unions had not been able to apply.

That the Government of lock-out would continue its role from the General Strike was plain enough. Soon after the General Strike had been dismissed as general the minister of Interior demanded from the »Commission of Trade Dispute Legislation» their proposal for a bill, and when the Commission answered that it was impossible to get the proposal finished to the session of 1910, he *discharged* the Commission, in which the socialistic members surely not were in his favours, and promised together with the minister of Justice himself to present a new Bill for Trade Disputes, which would safely protect the community against occurrences as those of 1909.

The workers from their point gave at the great Trade Union Congress at the end of November, after entering discussions, the Leaders for the General Strike a clear vote of confidence for the way in which they had managed their requiring charges. The centre of gravity of the class struggle, that during the later part of 1909 rested on the General Trade Union Strike, was now removed on the political field, where it belonged to the Swedish Social-democrats to guard against the same capitalistic enemy, but in political forms, the rights and benefits of the working class.

Immediately at the beginning of the session in 1910 our Party made an attack against the Government for their partiality during the General Strike. It was then clear that the bourgeois bulk, which had risen under the fight, after the same to certain extend had been dismissed. The liberal leader, Mr. Staaff, certainly announced his lack of sympathy and disapproving of the workers class' solidarity, against which he referred to an abstract and ambiguous solidarity of community. But the Liberal party, which in Sweden mostly is supported by common people and not less by small farmers, could not be satisfied by the Employers' cruel class-egoism, in the way as it appeared by pursuing of workers, by evictions and by interdict against trade unions. To displeasure of the Conservatives, the Liberals in the Parliament — and later in their press — refused to remain a common safeguard for the Government against our attacks. By and by after time passed and the occurrences of the General Strike got a more historical perspective, the common liberal ideas again more clearly differed from the crass ignorance of the Conservatives — the different opinions of the old Parties from before the General Strike appeared again, although the social earthquake which had hit the country clearer than ever before had manifested their instability.

The General Strike and its events several times were forwarded in the Parliament by our members, stigmatizing authorities and employers. These events became foundation for two considerable motions: one against the class-bills,

which foremost had been used against the workers during those agitated months, the other against the administrative arbitrary from that time. None of them could in the present Swedish Parliament give any direct result, but they gave opportunity to make clear for the whole country what kind of class-tyranny had been concealed behind the phrases of »the assaulted Community» and to make the enemies of the workers responsible for their deeds. In fact the Courts have proved a returning consideration after the excitement last autumn, when sentences were proceeded, which afterwards higher tribunals were obliged to annule. However also in later times there are examples of revolting class-sentences in Sweden. A young comrade, Hj. Gustafson, was sentenced to two months *hard labour*, and was found guilty also by the high Court of Justice for calling the railway-men to join the General Strike. In Sweden the railway-men belong to men in office, and it is »exhortation to crime» to call them out of duty.

The important question at the session in 1910 was however the fight about the *Trade Dispute Bill*. The Ministers of Interior and Justice had fulfilled the order of Mr von Sydow and delivered a lot of bills, concerning collective contracts, court of labour, personally contracts and strengthening of the law against »strikes threatening the community». It is characteristic for the partiality in all these law proposals, that they included exactly the same »principles» which the Swedish Employers Association in the autumn of 1909 in vain tried to press the Federation of Labour to accept for the sake of peace.

Now this bill should force them to accept. Among them also was the right of lock-out (and strike) *while the collective contracts are in force* — a nonsensical misrepresentation of the ideas of collective contracts, on which the Employers however constructed their tactics of lock-out.

The Liberals were for a long time unsettled to several of the bills, which the first chamber selfevidently at once approved. But by good rights the small farmers called the attention to, that the mentioned »principle», legalized, would whenever let another gigantic conflict blaze up; such

way of making »labour peace» could not be approved by them.

While nevertheless the Employers by no means were willing to renounce at this point, the bills at last were all dismissed in the second chamber by a majority of the Socialists and the most Liberals. The minister of Justice also in vain attempted to forward a new Combination Bill restraining the rights of the workers.

In this way ended the Employers efforts by legislation to gain what the lock-out had not been able to force through. It failed completely in political way to appeal to the communitys panic for the General Strike. The workingmen's excellent behaviour during the time of the conflict saved them from more class-laws, which certainly would have been approved in case of riots during the brunt of war. But the minister of Justice is still in the Cabinet, and is next year coming back with new proposals. Consequently the battle will continue, but we hope with good chances to keep off bills, which will prove too much unfair for the workers.

* * *

For the rest our Party in the session of 1910 successfully continued their fight against the enormous military burdens. It looks as if the Conservatives next year when the Parliament yet is in its present state are going to try a last strenuous effort to tie our people with new military burdens, specially concerning the navy. The energetic claim of our Party to reduce these grants has forced the Liberals to increased resistance, lately announced by the liberal members leaving a named »Commission of defence» nominated by Mr Lindman, which in fact has in purpose to increase the Countrys military burdens. Even for that sake Hj. Branting at the appointment of the Commission refused to accept an offered seat, and the proper opinion of the Socialists have thus once more proved to be right.

Even concerning the question of Free Trade our Party took action and claimed a general investigation in purpose

to forward the abolition of our corn laws. Concerning this question, yet only a few Liberals dared to follow us.

The political event that beside the fall of the Trade Dispute Bill made the spring of 1910 memorable is nevertheless the first elections to County Councils by the new 40 degrees scale and with the proportional system. As a start came municipal elections in Stockholm after the same system. Only a half part of the Council was to be renewed, thus 50 to be elected. Formerly the Labour party, during the rule of the 100 degrees scale possessed in all 5 seats of 100, elected by favour of the Liberals. Now we took ourselves 16 seats (against 12 Liberals and 22 Conservatives; with equal suffrage we would have 22, and the Conservatives 16). If the elections run next year in the same way, the Labour party will possess a third of the Common Council of Stockholm and in due time 3 seats for Stockholm in the first chamber.

This great success so soon after the General Strike with its hard times encouraged the comrades over the whole country to powerful action at the election of the County-Councils. However it was impossible in some places to pay all the taxes; many thousands of labour-electors fell through on this paragraph of the Lindman »universal suffrage» (a paragraph, which in the new lists of electors shows it self all the more clear. There are cities, where a third, and in some *half* the adult male population are excluded from voting.)

All the same was the result — completely known in June, however the elections settled in March of 1910! — that the Socialdemocrats, who so forth only had a few members of County Councils, now in all putted in 125, while the Liberals won 424 seats and the Conservatives with help of the 40 degrees scale kept 668.

In large figure these County-concillors are elected by respectively 61,000, 173,000 and 158,000 electors. Including the great cities, which not take part in the County Councils, the voting-power of the three parties appears to respectively about 85,000, 190,000 and 175,000. The 125 concillors are so disposed in the different Counties, that

they only can send 9 or 10 members to the first chamber. Together with the great cities, *about 12 à 15 Socialdemocrats* in due time will then take their seats in our House of Lords, where formerly only landlords and wealthy industrial employers with the higher bureaucracy have been solely represented. And when further about 50 Liberals are added, it will be little room to spare for the old almighty Conservatives, who at the same time lose the majority of the votes summed up from both the chambers. No wonder then that Mr Lindman and the Conservatives as far as possible wish to postpone that painful moment, which means the desistance from power for both of them, and therefore inflexibly oppose what plain loyalty demands after these elections of County Councils: *entire new elections* to the first chamber.

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At last a few numerical statements.

The Partys sum of members.

The Swedish Socialdemocratic Labour Party counted:

Year 1889.....	about	8,000	members.
» 1900.....	»	45,000	»
1 Jan. » 1905 in 112 local organ.		64,835	»
» » 1907 » 170 » »		101,929	»
» » 1908 » 239 » »		133,388	»
» » 1909 » 296 » »		112,693	»
» » 1910 » 296 » »		60,813	»

The depression during 1909 was thus considerable, but the sum is now increasing.

In the last few years the local federations have joined to about 20 *districts of the Party*. These districts have in 1910 been regulated in regard to the new electoral constituencies.

The incomes of the Party amounted in a favourable year as 1908 in fees to 87,000 crowns. From the Party's

cash it could be given as contribution for the agitation 33,000 crowns, besides 15,000 crowns to pamphlets (electorals), and to expences for the Congress 19,000 crowns. The Labour Press received the same year as support 29,000 crowns.

Selfevidently the difficulties rised from the economical depression and from the General Strike have strongly interfered with the economical situation of the Party. Parts of grants, fixed by the Congress of 1908, must therefore remain postponed so forth. But we depend trusty upon better times also regarding that.

Our comrade C. G. T. Wickman is since 1901 secretary and treasurer of the Party.

The *National Trade Federation of Labour* counted at the start in 1891 22 Trade-Federations with about 46,000 members. The situation the last years is as follows:

	Number of Federations	Number of members	Sum of incomes to the Federations
31/12 1906	1,690	136,413	1,994,000 cr.
31/12 1907	2,144	186,026	2,732,000 »
31/12 1908	2,172	162,391	4,703,000 »
31/12 1909	1,829	108,079	— »

Thus also here a remarkable touch of the depression and of the General Strike, but undoubtly of passing kind.

The number of Trade-Federations having joined the Federation of Labour was at the beginning of 1909, 27. The greatest federations were the Unskilled workers (40,000), Iron- and Metal-workers (34,000), Workers in the wood (12,000.) Farm-workers counted about 7,000 members.

Out of the Federation of Labour but with socialistic ideas are to remark the Federation of swedish railwaymen (25,000) and the Typographers Federation (6,000).

The total number of organized workers was in 1909 calculated to 200,000 (besides about 10,000 in »the yellow» »Swedish Workers Federation» and a few thousands in independent unions).

That is nearly 50 pr. cent of the number of workmen in manufacture, mining and intercourse (farming and woodcutting not included).

The number of *workingdays lost by conflicts*, which in the years of 1903, 1904 and 1906 had been down to 1½ million and the great year of lock-out 1905 ran up to 2½ millions, rised 1908 to 1,842,000 and is calculated in 1909 to 11,660,000 days, of them as regards the General Strike alone to 7,150,000 and to the lock-out in connection with the same 4,200,000.

The Socialistic Labour press.

The Party has approved as papers of its own *eight daily* papers, namely

Social-Demokraten — Stockholm; Arbetet — Malmö; Ny Tid — Göteborg; Arbetarebladet — Gävle; Östergötlands Folkblad — Norrköping; Smålands Folkblad — Jönköping; Skånska Social-Demokraten — Hälsingborg; Nya Samhället — Sundsvall (Total edition at the end of 1909 103,000 copies).

In 1904 only three of those were daily, with a total edition of about 35,000 copies.

Five papers which are published 4, 3 or 2 times a week:

Folket — Eskilstuna; Örebro-Kuriren — Örebro; Blekinge Folkblad — Karlskrona; Norrskensflamman — Luleå; Värmlands Folkblad — Karlstad. (Total edition 23,000 copies.)

Besides these 13 party papers the Socialdemocratic movement supports Aurora — Vstad (daily) Lysekils-Kuriren — Lysekil (twice a week) and Nya Norrland — Härnösand (weekly).

The *total edition* of the Socialdemocratic press is calculated to about 140,000 copies.

Thereto this is by the Party published »Tiden», monthly review, and in large editions once a year »1 Maj» and »Julfacklan».

We also remind of the official paper of the General Strike, »Svaret».

With socialdemocratic ideas are by »the Federation of Young Socialdemocrats» published the monthly magazine »Fram», working for socialistic and general education, and

the political weekly paper »Stormklockan», the later sometimes thinking it being its duty to represent a more radical sharing of the movement. Both of these publications are widely circulated by the vigorous and eagerly agitating members of the Young *Socialdemocrats'* federation. This federation has now a days overwhelmed the named »Young *socialistic*» organization, which after their leaders' exclusion at the Congress of 1908 constituted their own party with two official weekly papers »Brand» and »Nya Folkviljan». Both are carrying on anti-parlamentaric and anti-religious ideas; lately Mr Bergegrens néo-malthusian agitation caused a reactionary legislation, which has been praised by them as a »revolutionary victory». This party makes a good deal ado, but get few members.

Also concerning the trades a new »Syndicalistic» organization has been planned by this party.

The Soeialdemocratic Women have their own monthly review »Morgonbris».

The number of *Trade-Journals* with Socialdemocratic ideas is 30 with a total edition of 205,000 copies. The most of them are published monthly or quarterly. The Typographers publish a trade-journal twice a month, the Ironworkers and the Railwaymen (in all 57,000 copies) once a week.

Thereto is published »Koopertören» 3 times a month in more than 15,000 copies.

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The numbers of *Peoples Houses* and *Peoples Parks* have grown considerably since the last report when the total value in all was estimated to more than 3 million crowns.

Specially is to be mentioned that the workers of Gothenbourg have now an excellent house for meetings, including the biggest hall in Sweden belonging to the Labour movement. Among the Parks, Malmö Peoples Park always takes the first prize.

* * *

The *Cooperative* movement is at last in strong development. The Cooperative Federation could at the Congress in 1909 celebrate its 10-years jubilee, strongly showing off its ideas in close connection with the other branches of the Labour movement. In the year 1909 the Federation counted 391 organizations with 65,652 members. The trafic of 1908 arose to 4,400,000 crowns with net-riepts of 68,000 crowns. In the Federations service in 1909 were 47 persons. Several cooperative associations are still outside of the great Federation. One of its foremost pioneers in Sweden, the editor of »Koopertören», M. Sundell, died in 1910.

* * *

Our *First of May demonstrations* have continued as before, with great gatherings; lately has nevertheless been raised the question if not their importance by this continual repeating is weakened. About the gatherings is to be mentioned:

1 of May 1907 was sold 189,415 Party marks.

1 of May 1908 was sold 225,092 Party marks.

1 of May 1909 was sold 227,940 Party marks.

The demonstration took place in 1908 on 132, in 1909 on 136 different places of the Country.

* * *

The *social legislation* in Sweden is still far behind.

By proposal from our Party the second chamber in 1908 asked for some improvements regarding to the very unsatisfactory bill concerning Employers liability to pay damages at accidents, but the minister of Interior has postponed this question in expectation of a proposal from a commission, which is to suggest general old age and invalidity pensions.

Another commission has revised the old legislation to prevent professional risks, but earliest in 1911 a proposal from the Government can be expected. A new bill concerning sick-funds were hastily approved by the Parlia-

ment in 1910. This bill was eagerly claimed by the free sick-funds themselves and it increases the public grant to those to one million crowns yearly, but even the second chamber refused to accept our proposal about measures for transition to compulsory assurance of sick. Our claim to deal with the question of assurance of the unemployed was approved in 1910 by the second chamber, but dismissed by the first. At last is to be mentioned that the Parliament of 1910 approved the joining of Sweden to the Bern-Convention, concerning reduction of womens night-work. But the Socialdemocrats' proposal in connection herewith to bring the whole question about nightwork into consideration, was rejected.

* * *

To shortly conclude:

The years of 1907—1910 have been very important to the evolution of the Swedish Labour movement. With the Suffrage Bill of 1907, how revolting insufficient it may be in practice, there are notwithstanding opened new possibilities for the Swedish workingmen to make themselves heard in Community: in the *County Councils*, through a small group of representatives in the *first chamber*, and also by increased representation in the *second chamber*. The elections of the County Councils of 1910, which at once gave us 125 County Councillors, is a witness of the coming progress, concerning to them. The general elections of 1908 which doubled our Party in the Parliament — at present 35 members — and increased our Partys number of votes to nearly 75,000, already gave a strong impression of the growing power of the Socialistic Labour movement. Then the gigantic battle, which we succeeded to postpone in 1908, in 1909 broke out in General Lockout and General Strike. By this the Swedish Labour movement passed its hardest proof, and passed it successfully. And our Party could leave the parliamentary session of 1910 having knocked down the efforts to use the General Strike for a reactionary legislation against the working-class.

But the more the workers force their way in the old community, the sharper the struggles. Even our capitalistic adversaries learn the power of organisation by the Labour class. Our gigantic fight of 1909 would have been impossible without highly developed organizations on *both* sides.

So much the more important it will be for the workingclass for the future simultaneously to use all means proper for its emancipation: by political organization to find its way to the Parliament and to the County Councils, by trade organizations to increase its power on the conditions of labour, by help of Cooperation also in that way to improve their standard of life, and in the meantime more and more absorb socialistic moral of solidarity and socialistic science.

By all these means we will march forward, to coming greater battles, waiting for us, convinced that the Swedish section of the great International Brotherhood honestly will do its duty in the worldwide struggle for freedom of mankind.

For THE SWEDISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LABOUR-PARTY:

HJ. BRANTING,
chairman.